REGICIDIVM IVDAICVM

OR

A Diſcourſe, about the Jewes *crucifying* Chriſt, *their* King.

WITH

An Appendix, or ſupplement, upon the late murder.

OF

OVR BLESSED SOVERAIGNE

CHARLES THE FIRST

Delivered in a Sermon at the HAGVE before His Majeſtie of GREAT BRITAINE &c. & His ROYAL SISTER, Her HIGNESSE, the PRINCESSE of ORANGE.

BY

RICHARD WATSON,

Chaplaine to the Rt. Honorable the LORD HOPTON.

Agnum rejecerunt, Vulpem elegerunt. Caſsiodor.

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Anno M. DC. XLIX.

Nid

To the R^t. Hono^ble. the

LORD HOPTON,

BARON OF STRATON &c.

One of the Lords of His Majeſties most Honourable Privie Councel.

MY LORD:

Had not my known obligations cōmanded my præſent addreſſe unto your Lord^p. (to whoſe bountie for diverſe yeares paſt, & ſtill, I owe as well my being, as ſome benefit by thoſe intervalls of ſtudie wich our perſecuted condition will admit) the ſub-

ject of this Diſcourſe, which I publish, would have pointed out your patronage to my thoughts, who have hitherto been ſuch an eminent *Aſſertour* of *Chriſtianitie* by your life, & of *Monarchie* by your *Sword*. What defects are in it, too late ſeeke your name for their cover, having allreadie run their hazard of cenſure from them, whoſe judgement I chieflie reverence, & whoſe ſole diſpleaſure I feare. If it may be own'd by your Lord^p. as the leaſt title of my dutie diſcharged, & by your honour cōmended to any future opinion of my diſavowing to the vvorld all old or new rebellion & Judaiſme, I have the end of my vvishes, & farther incouragement to expreſſe my ſelfe:

MY LORD

Yo Lordſhips moſt gratefull & obſequious ſervant

RICHARD WATSON.

S^t. John 19. ch. verſ. 14. & 15.

And he ſayth unto the Jewes, Behold your King. But they cryed out. Away with him, away with him, crucifie him. Pilate ſayth unto them, Shall I crucifie your King? the chiefe Prieſtes anſwered, We have no King but Cæſar.

WEre not my text Scripture, I ſhould apologize for aſſuming ſuch a ſad ſubject, the ſound of which words muſt needes turne that ſtrong current of griefe upon your eares, which hath allreadie for diverſe weekes ſtream'd forth abundantlie from your eyes. And though it be, were not this a weeke where in we're every day obligd, as well by Chriſtian dutie as command of the Church, preaching or praying, mournfullie to commemorate the ſufferings of our Saviour, and, like loyal ſubjects; make ſome ſparkes of our old allegeance riſe out of thoſe aſhes which we caſt on our heads upon the forowfull remembrance of ſo unjuſt a judgement pronounc'd and executed upon ſo juſt a King; I ſhould mine owne ſelfe checke my imprudence, and prevent your cenſure of my importunitie in this choyce. But the whole Goſpell for the day (which I preſume you obſerved) was no other then St. Matthew's long narrative of the Jewes malicious proceedings againſt Chriſt, & my text but a part of the ſame in St. John, with Pilates expreſſe declaring him to be their King.

Indeed the name of this day, which is Palme Sunday, speakes songs & prayses, victories and trophies, *Rami palmarum laudes sunt, significantes victoriam*, sayth St. Austin: But the service of the day speakes sorowes and sufferings, betraying and murdering, Holie Church not thinking worth her practical record their slight Hosannas, their high way blessings upon the Sonne of David, who within few dayes after could silentlie heare those *Anathema maranatha's*, those judicial blasphemies against the Sonne of God. Not deigning to preserve, for sacred reliques, those cast rags, the garments I meane the multitude this day spread in his way to the Citie, whose persons and lives ought in conscience & dutie t' have obstructed his Fridays passage to the crosse. The next Sunday, the solemnitie for the Resurrection of Christ, it will be *mors in victoria, death swallow'd in victorie*, but this day, the first of *Hebdomada Magna*, the great weeke, appointed for us to meditate on his passion, it is *victoria in morte*, the palme turn'd into cypresse, victorie drown'd in a deluge of bloud, overwhelmed with the crueltie of death.

Tract. 49. in Ioann.

S. Matth. 21.

1. Cor. 15. 54.

It should seeme Pilate, whether upon some touch he had in his conscience, with a partial illumination of Gods spirit; or upon the circumstantial accomplishment of many know'n predictions of the Prophets, or upon the grandure of our Saviours speach, & more then humane Majestie in his countenance; he collected that, which St. Chrysostom calls *megálen ʿypónoian*, a great suspicion of some what more then ordinarie in his person; Or whether scared by his wifes dreame, and disswaded from the businesse by her counsel; Or whether the principles of moral honestie prevailed with him to resolve against the condemnation of innocencie, and instrumental completing the malice of the Jewes; 'tis notoriouslie evident what shifts he used, what pretenses he fram'd, either to retract them from their madnesse, or withdrawe himselfe from any interest in the murder.

Hom. in 18. & 19. Ioan.

S. Matth. 27. 19.

The first instance here of may be his transmitting the processe from his owne Court to the Sanhedrim of the Jewes. *Take ye him, and judge him according to your Law. St. Iohn* 18. 31. *Quæ non sunt verba concedentis, sed horrentis crimen*, sayth Cajetan, which are not words of concession, but detestation of the fact, *aphosimenou* sayth St. Chrysostom. But this they put off with a *non licet, It is not lawfull for us to put any man to death*, either because the Romans had forbid them the legal cognizance of all capital causes, which Maldonat sayth is the opinion of the most: or as some lay to their charge, though they might stone, or strangle, or burne, crucifie they could not, and none but that would satiate their malice, because the most ignominious way

Kaì epì pragma ou synkechoremenon autois & othountos.

of

of execution, and as good not all, as not wholelie to their purpoſe, as they expreſſe it indefinitelie, with out any limitation. *'Tis not lawfull for us to put any man to death.* A ſecond inſtance of Pilates averſion may be the advantage he toke of a cuſtome they had to free a malefactour at this time, and ſo none fitter then he, who, were his perſon as bad as their malicious charges would make him, muſt be leaſt guiltie by his office or dignitie, in all reaſon and juſtice moſt capable of their favour which made him uſe (at leaſt in our Evangeliſts ſtorie) the Royal title in his quæſtion, and ſay, *Shall I releaſe unto you* not Chriſt, or him who, you ſay, makes himſelfe to be the Sonne of God, but your Soveraigne? *Indæorum Regem, the King of the Iewes, verſ. the 39. of that chapter.* And here their *non licet* could not paſſe for an anſwer, for all though is was not indeed lawfull for them to put at leaſt this man to death; it was not onelie law, but conſcience, and dutie, and allegeance, to ſave his life and reſtore him to his libertie. But here comes in their clamour and crie, for feare the Judge ſhould be deafe at ſuch a ſenſeleſſe demand, *Non hunc ſed Barabbam, they all cried, Not this man, but Barabbas.* Theeves and robbers, villaines and murderers, ſett whom they will at libertie but the King, *Non hunc ſed Barabbam, we will not ſave him but Barabbas.*

St. John 18.39.

Verſ. 40.

The third and laſt experiment we have of Pilate, may be draw'n out of the words of my text. *Behold your King*, this he thought might move their compaſsion. *Shall I crucifie your King?* this he hop'd would confound them with ſhame. But they have impatience where with to turne off their pitie, they 'll take no thought to what paſſe they brought him. *Away with him, away with him*, and a falſe colour they have readie at hand to cover their ſhame *Habemus Cæſarem, they* good men *have Cæſar for their King.*

My text divides it ſelfe into foure parts.

I. Firſt here's Pilate, a heathen Judges ingenuous profeſsion of Chriſts Regalitie, his Kinglie dominion over the people of the Jewes, *Ecce Rex veſter, behold your King.*

II. Secondlie, Their impatient averſion from acknowledging ſuch his ſupremacie of power. *Away with him, away with him, crucifie him.*

III. Thirdlie Pilates profeſsion reſum'd, and fram'd into a ſtrong argument for the freedome and indemnitie of Chriſt. *Crucifigam Regem! Shall I crucifie your King?* which quæſtion, the knowe, implies

implies a negation, and the enthymem's this. *He is your King, therefore, non crucifigam, I must not crucifie him.*

IV. Fourthlie, and laſtlie. The chiefe Prieſts cunning evaſion, and apologie for the Jewes rejection of Chriſt. Miſtake not us, nor the good people we countenance, whoſe thoughts are not ſet upon murdering their King, *Habemus Cæſarem, We have Cæſar*, who may be well aſſured of all fidelitie and loyaltie from us, we muſt heare of no other, *alium non habemus, we have no King but Cæſar.*

Theſe be the parts. Before we enter upon the handling of which, Let us pray for Chriſts Holie Catholique Church, &c.

And he ſayth unto the Jewes, Behold your King.

THis *He* in my text is that Pilate you meet with every day in your Creed, infamous there for the worſt of his acts, his condemnation of Chriſt, recorded here for the beſt of his words, his publike profeſsion to the Jewes that he was their King.

Adverſ. Ind. *Chriſti nomen & regnum ubique porrigitur*, ſayth Tertullian. As the name, ſo the regalitie of Chriſt is held forth every where to the world. In the Prophets predictions, ſuch as that of *Micah the 5. of his prophecie and 2. But thou Beth-leem Ephratah though thou be litle among the thouſands of Iudah, yet out of thee ſhall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Iſrael.* In the Wiſemens ſearch and inquiſition at his birth *St. Matt. 2. Where is he that is borne King of the Jewes?* In his owne adminiſtration and ſpiritual exerciſes of his power, as when he rebuked the windes and the water, and they obeyd him *St. Luk. 8.* In ſeveral intimations by his words. *In this place is one greater then the Temple. The ſon of man is Lord even of the Sabbath. St. Matth. 12.* In his ſilent acception of the acclamations and worſhip from the people, whoſe mouths were full with *Rex Iudæorum, Rex Indæorum. This is he that hath been the deſire of Nations, thus the expectation of the people, the King of the Jewes.* The ſumme and fulleſt period of which was the ſtrange ecſtatike reverence was given him at his entrance this day into the Cittie, by ſpreading of garments, cutting downe of boughes, and crying Hoſanna to the Sonne of David, which is *Free us, or ſave us we beſeech thee*, a ſpeach never uſed but in their feaſt of tabernacles, being there a piece of their

Cornell. a Lapid.

Baron. A. 34.

their publike ſervice, a part of the peoples reſponſals to the Prieſt. So that he which had converſed with the Jewes, and heard at leaſt, if not read, the writings of their Prophets; He that knew what paines the Wiſemen tooke to adore, & doe him fealtie in his cradle; He that ſaw the miracles he wrought, & heard the ſtrange language that he ſpake; He, whoſe eyes, and eares were this day filled full with the accompliſhment of that Prophetike exhortation in *Zacharie*. 9. 9. *Rejoyce greatlie ô daughter of Zion, ſhout ô daughter of Hieruſalem,* (for never was joy ſo highlie expreſſed, never before this was Hoſanna known to be turn'd into a ſhout) *Ecce Rex, behold thy King, cometh unto thee lowlie, and riding upon an aſſe*, the very ſame language with this dayes hiſtorie in the Goſpell, He I ſay that had all theſe inducements to beleeve, had reaſon to taxe the incredulitie of the Jewes, and allay their crueltie by pointing at their Soveraigne. *Ecce Rex, Behold your King*. In the foregoing chapter Pilate, at his entrance, into the Judgement Hall, ſo diſſembled his inclination to beleeve, that Origen puts to peradventure his quæſtion, *Art thou the King of the Jewes? deridens, aut dubitans*, that he ask'd it in deriſion, or doubt. And, upon our Saviours replie, *Sayſt thou this of thy ſelfe, or did others tell it thee*, ſo loth he ſeemd to be taken for a Chriſtian, that he would not owne the remote alliance of a Jew. But when he ſaw the malice of the Prieſtes delude his cunning and aſſaile his conſcience; when the importunitie of the peoples clamours was likelie as well to violate his fayth, as raviſh his juſtice, then he doubted about nothing but his honour, a Chriſtian he was, *pro conſcientia Chriſtianus Tertullian* calls him, but he would with all continue Præſident in Jurie, God and Cæſar muſt be content with a joynt intereſt in his ſervice, *Convictus ille, imò & confeſſus, nec tamen profeſſus*, ſayth one, Convinc'd he is, and confeſſion he makes, though he becomes no profeſs'd Chriſtian, what he thinketh nor good to aſſume to himſelfe (in all likelihood onelie for feare of Cæſars diſpleaſure) he preſſeth very hard upon the Jewes, *Ecce Rex, Behold your King*.

Tract. 35. *in* 27. *Matth.*

Apol. c. 21.

P. Gagn. Ambian.

But this *Ecce* here ſeemes not onelie to hold forth Pilates fayth, but to guide the Jewes to a ſad object, worth their commiſeration and pitie. *At the* 5. *verſe of this chapter*, when, to avoyd greater miſchiefe, Pilate had taken Jeſus, and ſcourg'd him; When with platted thornes, and purple robe the ſouldiers had crowned Jeſus, and arrayd him; When with their *Ave Rex, Haile ô King*, they had in ſcorne derided and mock'd him; *'anoiſes catechiſmenon 'aphoretos 'exybriſmenon*, ſayth St. Chryſoſtom, thus undeſetvedlie chaſtis'd, thus unſufferablie reviled, he brings him forth as a fit object for humane compaſsion, and ſayth no more but *Ecce homo, Behold the man*. Behold *Ch.* 53.

and ſee, whether this be not he, whom your owne Prophet *Iſaiah* ſpeakes of, *deſpiſed and rejected of men, a man of ſorrowes and acquainted with griefe;* Whether it be not he that is *wounded for your tranſgreſſions*, he that is *bruiſed for your iniquities;* Whether upon him be not *the chaſtiſement of your peace*, & whether *by theſe ſtripes ye may* not *be healed* But when he ſaw thoſe ſharpe thornes that pierc'd his head could not pricke them at the heart; When he ſaw thoſe ſtripes, which had ploughed up and made long furrowes in his backe, could by no meanes breake the drie barren ground in their breaſts; When no argument draw'n from ſuch a ſpectacle of humane miſerie could move them; He becomes, as he thinkes; imperious in his Rhetoricke, hopes the name of Majeſtie will awe them; that they, who would take no pitie on him as man, will recollect themſelves and reverence him as their Soveraigne, *Ecce Rex, Behold your King.* But they, who once have burſt the chaines of humane Societie, will breake the bonds of Soveraigntie aſunder, and caſt away their cords from them; They, who have forgoten to be men, to be mercifull one to another in love, will ſcarce bethinke themſelves to be ſubjects, to be obedient all to any one in dutie.

De Clem. l. 2. c. 4. When Seneca had defined crueltie to be a certaine fierceneſſe of the mind in exacting of puniſhment, he diſcovered a generation of bloudie men that could not be compriz'd in this definition, ſuch as, no fault nor injurie preceding, can be ſayd neither to puniſh nor revenge, but *qui occidendi cauſa occidunt*, kill merelie becauſe they will kill, *nec interficere contenti ſæviunt*, nor are they content to kill onelie, but torment too, and rage in the maner of their murder. And he knowes not what to ſtyle theſe mens diſtemper but a bruti ſh ſavageneſſe, a raviug madneſſe, both implying their incapacitie of doing, or hearing any thing that is reaſon, ſo that *Ecce homo* and *Ecce Rex* to tell them of man or King, to uſe any rational argument to appeaſe them, is to take a lambe from a lions mouth, to divert an evening wolfe from her prey, it heightens their rage, it inflames their furie, impatient they are of hearing any thing that tends to that purpoſe, nothing then but *Tolle, Crucifige, Away with him; Away with him, crucifie him.* And this leades me to my ſecond part, the Jewes averſion from acknowledging Chriſt's ſupremacie of power, aggravated firſt by the violence of their paſsion, *Clamabant, They cried.* Secondlie by their vehement iterated expreſsion, *Tolle, Tolle, Away with him, Away with him.* Thirdlie by the crueltie of their tumultuarie condemnation, *Crucifige, Crucifie him.*

Senec. De Ira. l. 2. c 31. *Aut ignorantia nos rerum aut inſolentia iracundos facit*, ſayd the Stoike. 'Tis either ignorance or inſolence (which in his ſenſe is ſomewhat hapening

hapening beyond expectation, or out of course) that is the cause of our anger and furie. Either of which, though it can not fullie excuse the excesse of our passion, may abate somewhat the delinquencie of such acts as very naturallie issue from the extremitie of the same. To pleade either in behalfe of the Jewes were to denie that their fathers had a cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night to conduct them. *Habent Mosen & Prophetas; They have Moses and the Prophets, and they shewed before of the coming of the just one*, St. Steven tells them *Act.* 7. I shall not stand to reproach them with those glorious beames of the sun of righteousnesse, which will they, nill they, stroke themselves into the eyes of the Jewes, to which the Wisemens starre in the East was but a sparkle, & the light that encircled the shepheards but a shadow. The know'n accomplishment of the promise in Genesis, *That when the Scepter departed from Iudah should Shilo come*, evidenc'd First in Herod the Idumæan, who was no native, but a proselyte to the Jewes, who transmitted the Scepter to his sonne Archilaus, and he to Antipas who had a foreigner for his mother, giving them, that minded it assurance of the thing, might very well put them upon search after the person, and if our Saviours promise were valide in the 7. *of St. Matthew, Seeke and ye shall finde*, (which Tertullian sayth, with the rest of that nature, was in this case directlie intended to the Jewes) that search would have ended no otherwhere then in the cleare discoverie of Christ. But they were *Rebelles lumini*, as *Iob* speakes, *Rebells against the light* in a proper sense, for when this *light*, that was the Sunne of righteousnesse, the King of the Jewes, *was come into the world, they loved darkenesse rather then light*. This darkenesse some of them loved in Herod, whom they would needes in flaterie make that Anoynted of God, & instead of Christians were called Herodians. This darkenesse others of them loved in the Serpent whom they commemorate as the founder of knowledge of good & evill, whose power and Majestie they say was lifted up in the brasen image by Moses in the wilderne sse, and in the sonne of man by that paterne, as himselfe professeth in *the* 3. *of St. Iohn*, the likenesse whereof Tertullian sayth, they us'd in their sacrilegious mysteries, preferring the Devill himselfe before Christ, and from thence were called Ophitæ. Thus like sillie children, they chang'd *the bread that came downe from heaven for a stone, and the fish that their father gave them for a Serpent.*

St. Matt. 2. St. Luke 2. 49. 10. Baron. Apparat. De Præscr. adverss. hæret. c. 8. 24. 13. 5. Iohn. 3. 19. Tert. De Præscr. c. 15. Ibid. c. 47.

St. Paul indeed in the 3. *of the Acts notes that they and their rulers did out of ignorance crucifie Christ.* And Christ on his crosse pray'd, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they doe.* But it may be sayd, That St. Pauls charitie might possiblie get the uper hand of his sayth, and

St. Luke 23. 34.

yet our Saviours words were unquæſtionable truth, relating to
S. Matth. 27.25. their fatal imprecation, *Let his bloud be upon us and our children*, made when they litle thought how long that purple veine would be runing, how many generations of their children they plung'd into this river of bloud. Their knowledge of this might elſe have amus'd and ſtartled them in the act. And in this ſenſe perchance our Saviour might ſpeake it, *Ignorant, They know not what they doe.*

But let their knowledge be what it will, I am ſure it could not be greater then their malice, which brake out into this extremitie, of paſsion, that the Evangeliſt ſayth not, *'elegon* they ſpake, but *'ecráugeſan, they cried.*

Sen. Ep. 106. *An affectus ſint corpora*, Whether the paſsions of the mind be not bodies, hath been a queſtion ſprung in moral Philoſophie. Such ſtrange alterations have they made, ſuch ſhapes and repreſentatives of themſelves, as ſeeme more then effects of immaterial formes more then bare impreſsions of a ſpirit. Thus of tentimes hath feare ſhot that bloud to the heart which ſhame had fluſhed up in the face, and ſhew'd her ſelfe in the image of death. Thus when joy had painted out to the life the verdant ſpring in the countenance of man, hath ſorrow ſent his moyſture to the root, and as if it were the
Id. De Ira l. 1. c. 1. autumne of his age, parched up his skin like a leafe. But *quod alii affectus apparent, hic eminet*, whereof other affections are the ſhadow, anger ſeemes to be the ſubſtance it ſelfe, what they in a tranſitorie apparition, this in a permanent habit and real.

Doth modeſt ſhame diſcover it ſelfe in a gentle bluſh, & paſſe away like the dawing of the morne? Anger driueth furiouſlie like the Sun up to the meridian of his rage. Doth ſorrow ſigh and ſob it in a corner, or whiſper in the ſecrecie of a wood? Anger cries aloud in the ſtreetes, and clamours to a tumult in the mercate. What had been ſtillie dropt by tender-hearted pitie in a teare, Anger raiſeth in the noyſe of an earthquake, and throwes about the world in a
Tous. 7. Hom. 83. a tempeſt. *Wrath is cruel and anger is outragious*, ſayth the Wiſeman *Prov.* 27.4. Chryſoſtom renders this *'ecráugeſan*, *'epebóon*, which is, they bellowed it out like an oxe. And otherwhere paraphraſing upon my text, ſaith he *pros 'aptoiſtéran mâllon 'apotaurôúmenoi gnómen*, they were raiſed in their mindes up to the fierceneſſe of a bull. A ſimilitude very expreſsive of a licentious headie multitude in a rage, which,
Bro Planc. ſayth Tullie, *non dilectu aut ſapientia ducitur ad judicandum, ſed impetu*, is not lead to judgement by diſcretion and wiſdome, but hurried by the violence of their paſsion. With ſuch beaſtes as theſe was good King David encompaſſed. *Pſ.* 22. *Many oxen are come about me, fat bulls of Baſan cloſe me in on every ſide. Vituli & tauri*, 'tis renderd by St. Hierom

as

as if young and old had been all of this temper, all in a crie, and a terrible one too. *They gape upon me with their mouthes, Sicut leo rapiens & rugiens, as it were a ramping and roaring lion. Verſ.* 13.

If you obſerve the hiſtorie of their actions, who are crying in my text, they all ſpeake the fierceneſſe of their wrath, and moſt irrational extremitie of their paſsion. Firſt for the ſurpriſal of his perſon they muſt have no leſſe then *a band of armed men, and other Officiers of the Prieſtes and Phariſes with ſwords and ſtaves*, when he was onelie with a few Diſciples in a garden. Then whereas they had him daylie in the Temple, they muſt come with this power of darkeneſſe *in the night*. And in this night, (thought as the learned Grotius obſerves, at the time of full moon, too bright for ſuch an interpriſe as theirs) they muſt blaze their furie *metà phanôn kaì lampádon, in lanternes and torches*, and feigne a ſenſeleſſe difficultie in the ſearch. When they have got his perſon, in their power, they muſt *binde him* before they carie him away, ſcarce truſting him with the libertie of his legs when Pilate demands their accuſation againſt him, faine would they have ſentence paſſe with out a charge, upon Pilates implicite fayth in their honeſt word, that *had he been no malefactour they would not have delivered him to the Iudge*. And, after many paſſages of this kind, when Pilate preſſeth upon them that he was their King, rhey make an open ſepulcher of their mouth, and burie Royal Majeſtie in *a crie*.

St. John 18. *S. Matth.* 26.47. *S. Joh.* 18. 12. *S. John* 18. 30.

But this crie of theirs was not merelie a confus'd nothing, to ſtop Pilates mouth about their King, *'athetoûſi dôxas*, as St. Jude ſpeakes, *They* ſet aſide or *deſpiſe dominions*, *Away with him, away with him*, are words of ſcorne, contempt, and deriſion, by which they doe, as it were ſpit Regal authoritie in the face. St. Cyprian calls them, *violenta ſuffragia*, Tertullian in the abſtract, *ſuffragiorum violentiam*, which I will Engliſh no otherwiſe then the madmens verdict. This is *gladius linguæ*, the ſharpe ſword of the tongue, that cuts off the legal proceſſe of a Court, pierceth law and juſtice to the heart. When the Herald calls for the cap and knee for due reverence to be render'd to the King, theſe *raging waves ſome out no thing but their owne ſhame, Away with him, away with him*, is all can be got from *the madneſſe of this people*. When the Judge commands ſilence in the Court, and would have a quick hearing of the cauſe, as in the 59. *Iſai. By the ſtrength of their crie is judgement turn'd away backward and juſtice bid to ſtand afarre off. Non juris ordinem quærunt, ſed furore vincere volunt*, ſayth one. They looke not after the method of the law, they will caſt him not in judgement but furie. That the Prophecie in the 53. *of Iſai.* might be fullfilled. *De judicio ſublatus eſt. He was taken away from priſon and from judgement.* Thus in the propriety of Davids expreſsion, was our Saviour made

Adverſ. Demetria. Apol. c. 21. *Ep. S. Iude. Tolet.*

Pſ.22. *a ſcorne of men*, and the King of the Jewes *an out caſt of his people.* And what was done by the Jewes unto the King, was afterward by the Romans to his ſubjects decreed to the death, and when their owne ſinnes had draw'n downe vengeance upon their heads, when any publike calamitie toke hold of them, *Chriſtianos ad leones*, it was ſolemne with them to ſurround their Magiſtrates in tumults and crie to have the Chriſtians caſt unto the lions; And not onelie ſo, but, as if they had learn'd their leſſon from the Jewes, and deſired to maintaine as well their words, as their actions, *Chriſtiani tollantur.* Away with the Chriſtians, was a ſecond forme of their tumultuarie clamours.

Tertull. Apol.

Baron. An. 301.

But there remaines yet a third aggravation of their furie in my text. They are not content to have him taken out of their ſight they are not ſatisfied with the nullitie of his power, the impriſonment of his perſon, they muſt quench the thirſt of their malice in his bloud, not onelie *Tolle*, but *Crucifige*, *Away with him*, *crucifie him.*

Death and life are in the power of the tongue, ſayth the Wiſeman, *Prov.* 18.21. Which power never playes the tyrant more, then when it gets into thoſe habitations of crueltie, the mouthes of a rebellious multitude in a crie. Theſe, if any, are the madmen he ſpeakes of *Prov.* 26. who out of their *burning lips and wicked heart caſt*, not words but, *firebrands, arrowes, and death.* St. Auſtin makes the mouthes of the Jewes fiercer executioners then their hands, and their tongues ſharper inſtruments then the nailes that faſtened our Saviours bodie to the croſſe. *Vnde occidiſtis? gladio linguæ. Et quando percuſſiſtis niſi quando clamâtis crucifige?*

Tract. in Pſ.36.

Now, the two principles of popular furie are, for the moſt part, ignorance and malice. By the one they are not able to judge of the *ſpecies*, or kinde, much leſſe the degree of that which they take to be a crime, and, being jealous that what may be bad, is the worſt, they proportion revenge by their illimited ſenſitive appetite, never weigh it in the ballance of reaſon. By the other they become exquiſite inventours, and as curious about the circumſtance or forme, as violent about the ſubſtantial part or matter of their miſchiefe. Such is this jurie of raging Jewes in my text, who doe not onelie outrun judgement in their haſt, *Away with him, away with him*, nor in their rage throw mercie out of the Court, by crying kill him, or, put him to death, but ſpecificate execution at their pleaſure, and exerciſe the tyrannie thereof, as wel in the ſhame, as the torment, by crying out for the worſt of the kinde, *Crucifige, crucifie him, apenéſtaton thánaton*, ſaith St. Chryſoſtome. *ſummum ſupplicium* ſaith another *extremam pœnam*, a third, & S. Paul more emphaticallie then they all, *the croſſe, the ſhame*, as we tranſlate him, *Hebr.* 12.

Paul. Apul.

Baro-

Baronius obſerves that the Jewes never clamour'd to have our Saviour crucified, untill Pilate had giv'n them their option, *Shall I releaſe unto you this man or Barabbas?* And then, upon a ſodain, advantage they toke by this unfortunate occaſion, to quit Barabbas of his double due, as he was a theefe and a murderer, and caſt the croſſe upon our Saviours necke, who was ſo farre from being either of both, that he was Lord of life, King, of heaven and earth, and ſole proprietarie of the world. *Thus oftentimes are very unhappie opportunities of miſchiefe adminiſtred by ſuch innocent adventures, and furie by accident caried beyond deſigne.* *An.* 34.

I ſhall not exſpatiate about the circumſtances of his death, onelie deſire you but to glance upon the two ſpecious objects they ſet up, *the one upon his right hand, the other at his left.* In which to his laſt gaſpe he might ſee the double image of their malice, with out any reflection upon the leaſt guilt in himſelfe. Brieflie, ſuch was the ignominie of his ſufferings, as put part of Chriſtianitie to the bluſh, and made many hæretikes about the croſſe. In the head of whom was Simon Magus, who ſayd Chriſt withdrew himſelfe at the inſtant of death, & ſuffered onelie in the counterfeit of his perſon. After him *Cerinthus*, authour of that conciſion you reade of in St. Paul. *Beware of dogs, beware of the conciſion*, which was a cutting or dividing Jeſus from Chriſt, and aſſerting that Jeſus did both ſuffer and riſe, but that Chriſt was impaſsible forſooke his companie, and left Jeſus to ſuffer by himſelfe. In the reare of theſe comes *Baſilides* with a fiction; That *Ieſus* and *Simon*, meaning him of Cyrene, who help'd to beare the croſſe, chang'd ſhapes by conſent, and ſo *Simon* ſuffered, while *Ieſus* ſlipt away in his diſguiſe. And theſe are taken to be the men whom St. Paul mentions with teares in his eyes. *Philip.* 3. *Whoſe end was deſtruction, becauſe* (in this manner as I have told you) *enemies to the croſſe.* *S. Matth.* 27.38. *Baron. An.* 60. *Phil.* 3.2. *Tert. De Præſcript. cap.* 46.

But to take off your thoughts from theſe idle fancies, I deſire you to fixe them upon a ſerious object in my third generall, and behold Pilate with amazement and horrour metamorpho'zd for a time into a ſtatue, till at length bloud melting in his veines, and juſt wrath burning at his heart he ſpeaketh with his mouth, yet hath not patience to be explicite in a ſyllogiſme, he preſſeth, I told you, his argument in an enthymeme. *He is your King, therefore, non crucifigam, I muſt not crucifie him*, Nay he yet contracts that into a qnæſtion, and when neither, humane miſerie could move them to pitie nor ſetting Royal Majeſtie in their ſight, draw them to a remembrance of their dutie he thinkes to ſhake their obſtinacie in pieces, and ſtrike dumbe the inſolencie of their crie, *'emphráston 'autôn tà ſtómata*, *Kaì* *Tom.* 7. *Hom.* 84.

Kaì pánton tôn categoreîn bouloménon, xaì dejenùs hotì to oikeio basilei 'epánestesan, sayth St. Chrysostom, by *Crucifigam Regem? Shall I crucifie your King?*

I know Interpreters differ about Pilates meaning, and are as apposite as may be in rendring their conjecture upon his words. St. Cyrill of Alexandria sayth. That his first words, *Ecce Rex, Behold your King*, might be spoken in compliance with the Jewes, whose charge lay chieflie against him for accepting that title from the multitude at his entrance this day into the cittie, and so, Behold I deliver him up unto your pleasure whom some idle people among you publikelie crie up for the King of the Jewes. And upon that ground Euthymius makes an ironie of his quæstion, wherein, he sayth, Pilate rather mockes at Christ, then reproacheth the Jewes: *What? shall I crucifie your King?* The learned Grotius takes the clause with the *Ecce* to be in reproach, but of what? not their malice, but their follie. Which may seeme to be in favour of Theophylact, who makes a longer speach for Pilate then in my text, to this purpose allmost. *You that charge this man to have taken upon him the authoritie of King, where did he doe it? whence doe you collect it? from the purple robe wherewith the souldiers arrayed him? [some rag of their owne, having nothing but the counterfeit of the colour.] From a few threues, [gathered out of a hedge by the highway side] and platted into a diademe to crowne him? From a broken reed [taken out of the water] and put into his hand for a Scepter? Ou pánta 'autô 'eutelê; xaì stole; xaì trophè; xaì 'oixos, xaì oudè 'oixos. Are not all things poore and beggarlie about him? his raiment? his food? his house? nay 'oixos 'oudè 'oixos, his house and no hoose? as he sayd trulie. The sonne of man hath not where to lay his head.*

S. Matth. 9.20.

But I follow interpreters of another straine, such as favour Pilate in his beliefe, and are not prone to censure him for his words. Or the same rather dissenting from themselves, and fairlie altering the ill propertie of the sense.

S. Matth. 29.24. *Reverentiæ Bilati istud etiam fuit Signum* Orig. Tract. 35. in 27. Matth. S. Iohn 7. 46.

St. Cyrill first, who, upon Pilates washing his hands from the fact, and persevering in the defense of our Saviour, thinkes that at first he gentlie rebuk'd them, and suggested to them, that in as bad a condition as they see him, this is he of whom not long since they had a beter opinion then they owne. *Ecce Rex, Behold your King.* And that afterward he reproacheth their wicked humour to the purpose. *You that professed what words you heard, Never man spake like this man; You that acknowledg'd the miracles which he wrought. Behold the dumbe speake, the lame walke, the blinde see, and the dead are raised unto life. You that upon these &c. justlie built the beliefe you had, that he was the Sonne of David and your King, Is your great Hosanna turn'd to crucifige? What? shall I crucifie your King?*

Theo-

Theophylact next who, obſerving Pilate very peremptorie in maintaining the title he had caus'd to be ſet up on the croſſe, with a froward anſwer, *Quod ſcripſi, ſcripſi, What I have writ, I have writ,* ſayth he didit *'amunoumenos tous Ioudaious*, in revenge of the Jewes, who would give no eare to his *Ecce Rex, & Crucifigam Regem?* but would perſiſt in their rebellion againſt their King. St. Iohn 19 22. *'Ameinómenos 'omoû dè 'apologoumènos hypèr toû Christoû.* D. Chryſ. Hom. 84.

But let Pilates ſayth be what it will about the perſon of Chriſt, and his meaning as ambiguous as may be in this his conference with the Jewes, his words I am ſure muſt import the ſenſe of the world at that time, and, apprehenſion they had of the juſt indemnitie of Kings, and exemption from the ignominie of the croſſe. And indeed he that ſhall recollect with himſelfe the awfull expreſsions dropt from the pens of the Romanes, may have enough to reproach any wicked regicide, Jew or Chriſtian, and hiſſe him out of the communion of men. The Roman Seneca litle thought of depoſing, much leſſe of murdering Kings, let their actions be what they will, when he made that compendious Directorie for the ſubject, *Rex eſt, ſi nocentem punit, cede juſtitiæ, ſi innocentem, cede fortunæ.* He is thy King, if he puniſheth thee with deſert, ſubmit to his juſtice, if with out, give way to thy fortune, or ill chance, to ſuffer with out a cauſe. And what he ſayd in theſe words, he made good in his practice, when he ſuffered ſo patientlie, and bathd Nero's furie in his bloud. All indeed were not of his minde. Himſelfe makes mention of ſome Kings heads ſet to publike ſale, *Principum ſub civili haſta capita venalia,* of others throates cut by their ſubjects, of ſome tormented to death upon the croſſe, but in his ſtoical language he ſayth they were *mali exempla fati*, all examples of a bad fate, he ſayth not, paternes for bad men. Lib. 2. De Ir. c. 30. Ibid. l. 1. c. 2.

But I paſſe hence to the fourth and laſt member of my text, the chiefe Prieſts cunning evaſion, and apologie for the Jewes rejection of Chriſt, Loth they are they ſhould take them for perſecuters, much more for murderers of Kings, *Habemus Cæſarem*, they good men have Cæſar for their King, to whom they profeſſe ſubjection and fealtie, the miſtake or real injurie is his, who would impoſe a new tyrannie upon them, and to this they make anſwer by their Prieſtes, *Alium non habemus, Wee have no King but Cæſar.*

Wherein are 3. Particulars to be handled. Firſt the perſons that were the modellers of the anſwer, and they were *Pontifices, the chiefe Prieſtes.* Secondlie, their caution in a ſubtile abetting or acknowledging a King, *Habemus Cæſarem, We have Cæſar.* Thirdlie, their traytourous rejection of Chriſt, *Alium non habemus, We have no King but Cæſar,* I begin with the firſt.

Lib. 28. Livie compares the multitude to the sea, which hath very litle motion of it selfe, calme enough and quiet would it be, but when the windes rise the waters rage, some leading gale first swells the mindes, and a stronger gust forceth on the madnesse of the people. Throughout the whole historie of the Gospell you may easilie see how the chiefe Priestes were the *excitantes Æoli* the windie Gods that raised the storme, and their furious breath the tempest that did shipwracke our Saviour. *dêmos 'atactos hypò tôn 'archónton diephtharménos*, *Tom.* 7. *Hom.* 83. sayth St. Chry: speaking of the Jewes. The confusion & disorder, of the people came by the corruption of the Priestes. No Sooner was he come into the world, but they are the men that must cure Herod of his trouble, & make the discoverie where he should be borne: *And they sayd unto him in Beth-leem of Iudæa Math.* 2. They the men that were sore displeased with this dayes reverence done him by the people, the childrens crying Hosanna in the Temple, and sayd unto him. *Hearest thou what these say St. Matth.* 21. The chiefe of them all, good Caiphas I meane, the first that found out the blessed expe- *St. Ioh.* 18. 14. dient for *one man*, and that man was this King *that must die for the people*, *St. Iohn:* 11. The mater being resented by them all, *they* hold a consultation about the maner, and, in order to that, *they* first *covenant* with Judas to sell him. *St. Luk.* 22. And notwithstanding all the diligence was used, when the designe was likelie to have fallen to the grond, *they* take it up in this apologie for the people. *Pontifices responderunt*, *The chiefe Priestes answered*, sayth my text. And trulie did not the people finde such cunning apologists as these, they are neither more præcipitant in enterprizing, nor more violent in prosecuting a bad cause, then they would be facile in deserting the same, when they once finde patience to hearken to, and shall heare reason to convince them of their errour, *Nec quicquam facilius quàm in quemlibet affectum mutare populum*, sayth Qninctilian. But when they have authoritie to countenance, and subtile sophistrie to colour their actions they have a guard both for their wilfulnesse and ignorance, and can then bid defiance to the world. The great stroke that the Priests had here in the demagogie of the Jewes came from the legal eminencie of their place, they sitting upon the highest bench of their Magistracie, and the chiefe of them being adæquate in power to their principal Judge or Justiciarie by his office. *Sacerdos summus summo Iudice adæquatur*, sayth one. Which layd to the leter of a pœnal law, whereby death was ordain'd for him who was disobedient to the command of the Priest, reverence and feare might very well involve the common Iewes in a silent assent to what their chiefe Priestes answered in my text, *Alium non habemus*, *We have*

Nihil ausuram plebem principibu: amotis. C. Tacit. An. 1.

2. *Deut. Hopou gàr hoi archontes 'emictérizon tì chrè peri teû eoinoû pléthous logizesthai; Theophyl. in Luc.* 23. *Vid. Hug. Grot. De Imper. San Matt. Potest. circ. Sacra.*

no

no King but Cæsar, Thus, as St. Chrysostom sayth, *tês 'oletriou miaiphonias 'egemónes, xai strategoi, xai paraitioi*, which the prophet Isaiah 5. language translates. *The leaders of this people cause them to erre, and they that are lead of them are destroyed.* 9.16.

But we'll leave the persons, and come to their answer, which implies their formal subjection to Soveraignitie in the heate of their processe to crucifie their King. *Habemus Cæsarem, We have Cæsar.*

Two things there are in the soul of man so clearlie writ in the faire indelible characters of heaven, that the hand of hell and malice of the devill, with all the workes of darkenesse he can graspe, can never wipe away into a blanke, and those are religion to a God, and subjection to a Soveraigne. The peevish Israëlites that are angrie at Moses because he stayes somewhat long in the mount, as hastie as they are, will stay themselves, and not stirre a foot till a God be made, be it but a molten calfe; to conduct them in the way. They that cast away their portion in David, and spit out their inheritance in the Sonne of Jesse, will not summon Israël to their tent's till they have design'd Jerobóam their Captaine for their King. And Jerobóam, when he hath snatched away the crowne, thinkes not of puting downe the old religion, the going up to Jerusalem to worship, untill he makes Dan and Bethel two stalls for his calves, and proclaimes their golden images his Gods. The most stupid Ægyptian, that will not thinke upon the paradise of heaven, nor heare of him that was walking in Eden in the coole of the day, will as he walkes in his owne garden plucke up a leeke or an onion for his God. I laugh at the foolish Atheist in the Psalmist, who mutters in the secrecie of his heart, but will not tell me plainlie with his mouth, *non est Deus, there is no God.* And I dare the most traitourous villaine in the world what soever he pronounceth so gravelie in a publicke Hall, where he hath his guard of ruffians about him, to retire into his closet a while, take the chaire in the Court of his conscience, and then passe sentence upon his King. No, Rebellion and Atheisme are *duo magna mendacia*, two impes of the Devill the father of lies, begot by him upon the deceitfulnesse of the heart, in a mist or cloud of pretenses and shewes, humanitie can not owne them for its off spring, and Reason discovers them to be a bastard brood when she brings them to conscience, goes about to trie them in the light. *Feare God, and Honour the King*, were commands not made but reviv'd *by St. Peter*, they had their first impresse in the first borne of Adam, and in the native habit sticke, as close as a worse businesse, original sinne to the soules of the rest, all though they often denie them in their practice.

Exod. 32.

1. *Kings* 12.

Gen. 3.

Ps. 53.

1. *Pet.* 2. 17.

The Soveraigne Majeſtie of God in heaven, and of his Vicegerent on earth, in ſpight of all the rebellious Indepedent crew in the world, will preſerve a ſeate for it ſelfe in the acts, or words, or thoughts, of Chriſtian, of Pagan, of Jew. In the heate of their rejection of Chriſt you ſee they lay hold, in profeſsion at leaſt, of a Heathen Emperour for their King; *Habemus Cæſarem, We have Cæſar.* But let us looke a litle aſwell into the actions as words of Cæſars good ſubjects in my text, and ſee whether they doe as they ſpeake, whether they *give to Cæſar the things that are Cæſars*, and by their practicke obedience owne him for their Soveraigne. I ſhall not need to tell you they were the ſonnes of them that for a long time had the beſt of Kings, for 'tis ſayd *the Lord himſelfe was their King*, and they were the worſt ſubjects in the world. How doth the Prophet *Eſai* crie out, *Heare ô heavens, and give eare ô earth, for the Lord hath ſpooken, I have nouriſhed & brought up children, & they have rebelled againſt me? Ch.* 1. How doth he preferre before them *the oxe and the aſſe, the one for knowing his owner and the other his maſters crib?* And for ſuch of them as ſhould have been wiſer then the reſt, *Principes populi*, the very repreſentatives of the people they were *rebellious and companions of theeves. Verſ.* 23. *Their Prophets were conſpiratours, and their Prieſts violatours of the law. Ezech.* 22. And yet I'le warrant you this dutifull crew had the confidence at that time to profeſſe, Grotius tells us they did it very ſolemnlie in their Talmud, *Habemus Deum, We have God for our King.*

1. *Sam.* 12. 12.

But to let their ſtubborne aunceſtours alone. *Ætas parentum pejor avis tulit hos nequiores*, St. Steven ſayth of theſe good men in my text, that they were *ſclerotrácheloi & 'aperitmetoi, ſtiffienecked and uncircumcized in heart.* That they did *pneúmati 'antipíptein*, we tranſlate it *reſiſt*, but the word is more emphaticall and ſignifies *to fall forward or preſſe againſt the Holie Ghoſt.* Now they that did thus on purpoſe with ſtand *the ruſhing wind of the Spirit of God*, were very unlikelie to be fairlie guided by the breath in the noſtrils of their King. No, it was their malice to Chriſt that made them pretend ſuch ſubjection to Cæſar, *Quem tyrannum & hoſtem reputabant, profitentur Regem ut Ieſu crucifixionem obtineant*, ſayth Cajetan. And if we looke into the hiſtorie of thoſe times, we ſhall finde this one people of the Iewes make more worke for the Roman Emperours and their Vice-Roys then all the reſt throughout their dominions in the world. No ſooner came Pilate to his charge, to ſucced Gratus the Præſident of Iurie, but bringing certaine images of Cæſar; as others ſay golden bucklers to dedicate at Hieruſalem, all our good ſubjects are in an uproare, and never leave bringing tumults to his doores, till he tranſlates them and

Act. 7. 51.

Act. 2. 2.

Baron. An. 4.

and his ſolemnitie, to Cæſarea. Not long after he borowes but a litle of their corba their holie treaſure, to imploy about the making of a conduit, our good people fall to their old trade, petition him to lay his building aſide but they humblie ſpeake it *ore gladii*, in the moſt dutifull expreſsion of the ſword In Claudius time they were ſuch dutifull ſubjects, that he was faine to baniſh them all out of Rome. And in Veſpaſians ſo loyal-hearted at Hieruſalem, that he ſent Titus his ſonne to beſiege them, who put 110000. of them to the ſword. And ſo obſervant were they of the good Chriſtian Emperour Conſtantines commands, that, to keep them in awe, he was faine either to cut off their eares, or ſtigmatize them otherwiſe in their bodies, and ſo marke them for ſlaves that would not keep the impreſsion of ſubjects in their hearts. *An.* 51. *An.* 315. *D. Chryſoſt. Hom.* 2. *in Ind.*

And thus have you a ſhort eſſay of them, their fathers', their children, who would ſooth up Pilate ſo handſomelie in my text with *Habemus Cæſarem*, *We have Cæſar for our King.*

There remaines now nought but the laſt particle of all, the laſt of the Chiefe Prieſtes anſwer to Pilate, being the Jewes final rejection of Chriſt, *Alium non habemus*, *We have none but Cæſar for our King.*

The moſt willfull anſwer that ever was render'd by men pretenders to gravitie and judgement, the moſt incongruous to Pilates demand For had Chriſts Kingdome entrench'd upon Cæſars, he that was his Provincial Subſtitute durſt not doubtleſſe at the ſame time owne his place and his deſire to præſerve the life of him to the ruine of his Maſter. But Pilate was well ſatisfied in the point by the diſcourſe that paſſed between our Saviour and him, and ſo in all likelihood were the chiefe Prieſtes too, if their malice had not more perverted their will, then ignorance blinded their underſtanding hereof. For the Common people who are not the beſt maſters of reaſon, and the very worſt moderatours of paſsion, upon ſlender grounds to raiſe a tumult for their Patriots advantage, to ſell a litle breath for a ſixpence, crie *Tolle, Crucifige*, *Away with him, crucifie him*, is no great deviation of nature, their earthie ſouls incline them to the center of profit, and their ſervile ſpirits make them not onelie readie at hand to fetch and carie, but, maſtivelike, with open mouth furiouſlie to aſſaile, if commanded onelie by the eye or the fingar: But for the chiefe men the Rulers of the people, no leſſe then the States of the Parliament of the Jewes, which Maldonate ſayth conſiſted of the chiefe Prieſts, Elders, and Scribes, as it is in the 50. of *Eſai.* Not onelie to *kindle a fire*, *and compaſſe themſelves about with the ſparkes, and walke in the light of their owne fire*; But hope

to smother their guilt in the smoke; For them to professe subjection
S. Ioh. 19. 12. to Cæsar, and thence to vouch their rejection of Christ, for them to tell Pilate to his face that he can be no friend to Cæsar unlesse he become a murderer of Christ; this is very wilfullie to walke *in the*
Prov. 22. *way of the froward, wherein* the Wiseman tells us *are thornes and snares they* can not but pricke their feet as they goe, they can not but be taken in the net.

When our Saviour strictlie commands them *to pay tribute*, they pretend, that at the same time he prohibites paying *dutie to Cæsar.*
S. Ioh. 18. 36. When he tells them *his Kingdome is not of this world*, they are zealous to shew their subjection is. *Habemus Cæsarem, they have Cæsar, and none but Cæsar for their King.* Whereas well they might know, and were bound to take notice of what St. Cyrill of Alexandria sayth he evidenc'd to them in speach. *'óti tês toû Kaísaros basileias 'ouc 'estì polémiot*, that Christ and Cæsar are no such inconsistents in government, the very same subjects may they have and yet be no corrivals in dutie. The chiefe Priestes might have sayd, *Habemus Cæsarem, We have Cæsar* indeed, and yet *Habemus alium*, we may have, another, *We may have Christ for our King.* But *'ap' 'eláctizen 'en roútois 'o 'egapémenos Israèl, xaì tês pròs Teòn philias 'anaphandòn 'exálletai*, most elegantlie sayth Chrysostom. In these words beloved Israël Kickes away Christ with the heel, and in publike viewe leapes out of her friendship with God. But they that kick'd against, and leap'd from this relation to God, and, as I shew'd you eve'n now, leap'd in, were very desultorie, very uncertaine in their subjection to Cæsar, have been justlie since kick'd away and rejected by both, continuing still in that forlorne condition, wherein 1400. yeares since and more, I say againe 1400. yeares since, that you may see how soon, and that you may see how long
Apol. c. 21. revenge followes rebellion at the heeles, Tertullian very sadlie describ'd them, *dispersi, palabundi, & cæli sui extorres, vagantes per orbem, sine homine, sine Deo Rege*, dispersed vagrants, banish'd from Christs Kingdome in heaven, and from Jurie, then Cæsars, now the Turkes province on earth, wandring up and downe in the world, having neither God nor man for their King.

Desino, & hoc infigo. Thus have I done with Pilate, the Jewes, and
Epinan. the chiefe Priestes in the leter, as they beare a part in the Historie of the Gospell. Yet some others there are very nearlie concerned, if not in the doctrine, I am sure in the use and due application of my text *deuteroi Iudâioi*, such as deserve the name of second Jewes beter then the Paulian heretikes that had it. And there is *déuteros xritès*, a second Judge, I shall not doe him the honour to say a second Pilate, he acted very litle of his part, not any that I know but passing *an*

uglie

uglie ſentence upon his King. And there are *deuterοi hierεῖs*, ſecond Prieſtes, and thoſe chiefe ones too, even they of the Aſſemblie and Sanhedrin it ſelfe, who, as ſilent & unintereſſed as they ſeem'd when that traytourous charge was brought into the Court, have, for above 7. yeares together, made the pulpits ring, and the preſſe groane with the ſtrength of their crie, and weight of their bookes, (I ſay not of their arguments) to give notice to the world, that with out covenanting (you know who ſayd it) *againſt reaſon, conſcience, honour, oath*; reforming the reformation it ſelfe againſt Scripture and Apoſtolicke inſtitution, ſo many hundred yeares precedential practice; and undeniable Catholike profeſsion, *Non habebimus hunc*, We will not have CHARLES for our King. And there is *deuterοs Chriſtos*, a ſecond Chriſt, an anoynted of God, that came as neare as ever King did to our Saviour in his life, and I dare ſay never any ſo neare in the ſimilitude of his death. And there is *deuterοs Iοũdas*, a ſecond Judas, not as the firſt onelie with a band of men, and a few pike-ſtav'd officers at his heeles, but not many yeares ſince in the head of a curſed numerous armie, and curſed be the memorie of that man unleſſe bleſs'd with repentance before his death, that ſo perfidiouſlie ſold and betray'd him. And here you have ſet in your viewe perſons enough for a ſecond tragoedie. *Quinto productior actu*, one that would admit of a ſixt act, ſurpaſsing ſeverall circumſtances of the other, if your griefe would give the patience to heare it or had I juſt abilities to compoſe it. Inſtead whereof I ſhall crave your favour to repeate my text with ſome ſhort alluſive paraphraſe upon the words. *And he ſayth unto the Iewes, Behold your King.* K. Ch. 1. Eix. Baſil.

Which *He* in the moral is our mocke-Judge, but no rightfull ſucceſſour of that relenting Pilate in my text, becauſe he went not about to ſtop the peoples crie, by moving their pitie, reproaching their inſolence, ſaying, *Ecce Rex, Behold your King*, He expos'd him to their crueltie and ſcorne, reviv'd their calling for *Juſtice, Juſtice*, ſaying, like a miſcreant as he was, *Ecce carcer, Behold there the priſoner at your barre.* Never any Preſident in the world tooke more paines then Pilate did to deliver guiltleſſe innocencie from death; Nor any more then our unjuſt Judge imploy'd induſtrious malice, to condemne it. To that purpoſe, as in the 6. *of Amos, Turning judgement into gall, and the fruit of righteouſneſſe into hemlocke*, that he might be ſure to give Majeſtie its bane. Lactantius and St. Chryſoſtom are of opinion that Pilate did not poſitivelie paſſe ſentence upon Chriſt, but gave onelie permiſsion to the Jewes to execute, as before he had to judge, when he ſayd. *Take ye him, and judge him, according to your law.* But ours I beleeve durſt not truſt the people with the libertie of that power, I rather

rather thinke if his hand had been as ſtrong as his heart cruel, he would have ſav'd the State the charges of a vizard, by becoming the bareſac'd executioner himſelfe. Pilate much affected to diſcourſe with our Saviour, propounds quæſtions, is attentive to anſwers, ſeemes very ſolicitous about his Kingdome and truth, *And thou a King then? and what is truth?* both *in the* 18. *Chapter of St. Iohn*: but our furious Rhadamanth breathes out nothing but brimſtone and fire, he takes the ſpunge himſelfe and dips it in the ſharpneſſe of his ſpeach, ſtops the mouth of condemn'd Soveraigntie, indulgeth not the libertie of a word. *Will you heare me a word* SIR? a ſtrange requeſt to be made by a King to a rebell, a ſtranger to be denied by a ſubject to his Soveraigne. We'll take Seneca's divination for the reaſon, *Timuit ne quam liberiorem vocem extremus dolor mitteret, ne quid quod nollet audiret*, afrayd he was he ſhould heare what he litle deſired, leſt the laſt breath of a dying man, an innocent King deſign'd for murder, ſhould caſt a cloud of horrour on his ſoul.

Lib. 3. *De Ira.* c. 19.

But to keep neare to the words of my text. Wherein our Præſident faild of the parallel with Pilate, I beleeve the conſcience of every Jew did ſupplie. I beleeve it call'd upon him often enough, ſaying, *Ecce Rex*, *Behold my King*. Behold that King who in compliance with my wilfull and unreaſonable demands, *exénoſen heautòn*, as 'twas ſayd of our Saviour, *hath evacuated himſelfe*, and is become allmoſt æqual to his ſubjects; hath ſuffer'd a diminution of Majeſtie, is deveſted of much of his juſt legal dignitie and power, Cuſtomes, Courts, Monopolies, Taxes, Militia, Biſhops, all pretended grievances, I could make are either taken away, or limited to my purpoſe. But then conſcience layes the other *Ecce* at his doores. *Ecce Homo*, *Behold the man*. Behold I am that man that ſet my hand to that rebellious remonſtrance, and my heart to have it throw'n into his coach. I that man who by ſeditious tumults affrighted him and his from their palace; I that perſecuted him in my purſe or my perſon, and hunted him like a partridge in the wilderneſſe. I that at ſuch or ſuch a battel levell'd many a piece at his quarter ſent many a curſe to his Royal Perſon with the ſhot; I that bid faire to corrupt his governer and lay him in his garriſon; I that, when the bargaine would not hold, inveigled him out in a ſtrange diſguiſe by many ſpecious promiſes to proteſt him. I that when I had him in my hands Judas like kiſs'd him and betray'd him into his priſon. And then, as in the 34. *of Iob*, *There is no darkneſſe nor ſhadow of death where theſe workers of iniquitie may hide themſelves*. Their owne guilt is a perpetual thunderclap in their eares, and a fixed flaſh of lightning in their faces. No promiſe of mercie can cleare their

Philip. 2. 7.

their jealouſie, No act of oblivion ſetle their feare; Deſpaire turnes *Regnare nolumus* to *Nolumus vivere*, They that cried before, *We will not have this man to reigne*, crie ten times lowder, *We will not*, *We dare not ſuffer this man to live.* And what then remaines, but *Tolle crucifige*, *Away with him*, *Away with him*, *crucifie him.* *And Pilate ſayth unto them*, *Shall I crucifie your King?*

And here I muſt againe tell the, our Judge is nothing like that Pilate in my text, becauſe he did not put it to the quæſtion, ſaying, *Shall I crucifie?* but, when he entred firſt into the Judgement Hall gave good aſſurance to his clamorous Jewes, ſaying in effect, *Crucifigam, I will crucifie your King.* You therefore that have got the beſt eſtates by plunder and pillage, the higheſt places by ſupplanting, ſequeſtring, the greateſt names by rebelling and murdering. You that have ſtucke malice at the point of your ſword, and wreakt it in the bowells, of your brother; You that have broke the barres of Religion, run away with the reignes of government and law; You that have *dran'n all kind of iniquitie with cords, and all ſinne as it were with a cart-rope.* You that, as it followes in the 5. *of Eſai*, ſay, *Let him make ſpeed and haſten his worke, that we may ſee it;* Feare nothing, Have patience a while, I will but gull ignorance with a forme, take the ſtoole of wikedneſſe, wherein to doe juſtice, imagine miſchiefe for law, and then your wiſh you ſhall have, for *Crucifigam Regem, I will crucifie your King.*

It remaines in the words of my text. *And the chiefe Prieſtes anſwered, We have no King but Cæſar* But our Pilate, as I told you, not putting it to the quæſtion, Our Prieſtes have ſav'd the labour of this anſwer, which is not withſtanding in part taken up by their forward diſciples, who render this account of their 7. yeares inſtruction by the new light, to have Monarchie crucified as well their King, enacting, and boldlie proclaiming to the world, *Habebimus nullum*, *We will not have any one for our King.* I could yet goe on in the antiparallel, aggravate their malice and tranſcendent crueltie, as otherwiſe, ſo from the place which they choſe wherein to murder their innocent King, which was *no Golgotha, a ſad place of dead mens ſkulles*, but a place for the living to rejoyce and *banquet*, as if Cannibal like, they meant to feaſt on his fleſh, and carowſe it in the cup of *deadlie wine* (for ſo I beleeve they and their poſteritie will finde it) *the bloud of their Soveraigne.*

I ſhall onelie take notice of Pilates laſt courteſie to Chriſt, who, when he could not prevaile for his life, ſet a crowne upon his head at his death for ſuch, ſayth Origen, was that title he writ, *Jeſus of Nazareth, the King of the Iewes.* St. Chryſoſtom ſayth he erected it for a trophie, *Tom. 7. Hom. 84.*

a trophie, *hosper 'epì tropaíou tinos, houto tà grámmata etheke, lampràn 'aphiénta phonen, kaì tèn níken deloûnta, kaì tèn basileian 'anakerytonta.* But our Judge and his Jewes in stead of giving crownes pull downe Kigdomes, hide them as deep in oblivion as they can, that they may lay the firmer foundation for their new modell'd government in a state. But if *he that built his house upon sand* was likelie to finde such an uncertaine foundation, how sliperie will his be who undertakes to erect a republike on bloud? If there be a *woe for him that buildeth his house by unrighteousnesse, and his chambers by wrong,* (and there is that woe *Ieremie* 22.) what is there for him, that frameth his new fabrike by murder? *The stone shall crie out of the wall, and the beame out of the timber shall answer.* And what this crie and answer shall be the Prophet *Habakuk* tells you the *second of his Prophecie* 12. *Væ illi. Woe unto him that buildeth a towne by bloud, and stablisheth a citie by iniquitie.*

St. Matth. 7.26.

But to conclude all. Maugre the wicked policie of our Jewes, in racing his name, altering his stampe, burning his papers (and leprous may that arme be that brings such pretious fuell to the fire) I say for all this their politike malice, our Royal martyr hath not onelie (no thankes to his Judge) the crowne and trophie of a title, but the everlasting stupendious monument of a booke, rais'd higher then the Pyramids of Ægypt in the strength of language, and well proportion'd spiring expression, built with out an hyperbole to heaven in divine meditations, and raptures, to which the Babel of other mens thoughts fall downe, and lies like an heape of confus'd uselesse rubbish upon the earth.

Eikòn Básilic.

It is recorded of St. Paul; That when his head was stroke off, there issued no bloud, but pure milke out of every orifice of his veines. *Nec mirum* sayth St. Ambrose, *Abundâsse lacte nutricium Ecclesiæ.* And no wonder is it that abundance of milke should come from the nurse of the Church. Never Church had such a Kinglie nursing father as this in his life, and never Saint gave better milke at his death. So sweet is the relish of his words, such a miraculous meeknesse in his speach, as if he had as well been fed with his Saviours food in the infancie of his life, as he tasted the bitter cup of passion at his death. Of whom you know it was Prophesied of old. *Buter and honey shall he eate, that he may know to refuse the evil, and chuse the good.*

Serm. 68.

And may our hopefull Jonathan, our gracious Sovgraigne, with his fathers blessing not Sauls curse, breake his fast every day in this honey, and thereby let his eyes be enlightned as Jonathans were, 1. *Sam.* 14. That he may every day more and more see and avoyd the

the enemies of his peace Let him every day take one drop at leaſt thereof upon the top of his rod. Let that ſweeten his rod of affliction to him. And let his other rod, his rod of revenge, dipt in this honey, chaſtiſe gentlie his enemies for him. And may he grow up in the ſtrength of this food to all the moral vertues fortitude, temperance, magnanimitie, and the reſt; to all the divine graces of his father, till having reignd with as much righteouſneſſe, honour, and much more peace after him here, he may, by no other then the hand of heav'n be tranſlated, in the fulneſſe of time, to reigne with him in glorie hereafter. *Amen, Amen.*

Glorie be to God.